

Message Text

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C O N F I D E N T I A L NICOSIA 0178

EXDIS

E. O. 11652: GDS

TAGS: PFOR CY GR UN

SUBJECT: RESUMED CYPRUS NEGOTIATIONS: PEREZ DE CUELLAR-MAKARIOS
MEETING

REF: NICOSIA 0165

1. UNSYG SPECIAL REPRESENTATIVE PEREZ DE CUELLAR SAW MAKARIOS
AS SCHEDULED JANUARY 17 AND BRIEFED ME FOLLOWING DAY.

2. DE CUELLAR INFORMED MAKARIOS OF WALDHEIM'S MESSAGE OF
PREVIOUS DAY ASKING CLERIDES TO STAY ON. MAKARIOS ACCEPTED
THIS BUT WAS SHARPLY CRITICAL OF CLERIDES FOR WHAT HE TERMED
IRRESPONSIBLE BEHAVIOR. HE WOULD NOT VENTURE TO PREDICT HOW
THE CLERIDES AFFAIR WOULD END.

3. DE CUELLAR THEN PROBED MAKARIOS AT LENGTH ON TURKISH
FORMULA FOR VIENNA AND SUBSEQUENT NICOSIA SUBCOMMITTEES. TO
DE CUELLAR'S SURPRISE, MAKARIOS SAW NO PROBLEM
WITH A SHORT VIENNA MEETING ("EVEN ONE DAY WOULD BE
ENOUGH IF THEY ARE SERIOUS") AND NONE IN PRINCIPLE
WITH DEVOLVING SUBSTANTIVE CONSIDERATIONS TO THE
TWO SUBCOMMITTEES. HE SAID, HOWEVER, THAT HE
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WOULD HAVE TO GIVE FURTHER THOUGHT TO NICOSIA AS VENUE,

CITING PROBLEM OF LOCAL PRESS AND POLITICAL PRESSURES.

4. IN DISCUSSING FOREGOING WITH ME, DE CUELLAR WONDERED WHY MAKARIOS HAD APPARENTLY ACCEPTED SO EASILY THE TURKISH FORMULA LIMITING WALDHEIM'S ROLE AND TURNING SUBSTANCE OVER TO SUBCOMMITTEES, A POSITION OPPOSED BY CLERIDES AND GREECE. I SUGGESTED THAT A PRINCIPAL MAKARIOS OBJECTIVE WAS TO LIMIT CLERIDES' ROLE. HE IS UNCOMFORTABLE WITH CLERIDES OFF ON HIS OWN, ESPECIALLY FOR ANY LONG PERIOD AND REGARDLESS OF HOW TIGHTLY CLERIDES' HANDS ARE TIED IN ADVANCE, AND WANTS THE NEGOTIATION MORE DIRECTLY IN HIS CONTROL THROUGH GREEK CYPRIOT SUBCOMMITTEE MEMBERS (PAPADOPOULOS, ET AL) WHOLLY SUBSERVIENT TO HIS WISHES. IN EFFECT, I COMMENTED, TURKISH FORMULA FITS MAKARIOS' REAL AIMS VERY NICELY ALTHOUGH I WOULD EXPECT GOC TO MAKE SOME DISSENTING NOISES ABOUT TURKISH EFFORT REDUCE WALDHEIM'S ROLE, FOR TACTICAL ADVANTAGE AND CONSISTENCY WITH GOC POSITION ON LARGEST POSSIBLE UN UMBRELLA AND APPLICABILITY OF RESOLUTIONS.

5. I MENTIONED TO DE CUELLAR THAT US STRONGLY HOPED DATE FOR VIENNA COULD BE MOVED UP TO FEBRUARY 2 IN VIEW SYG'S AVAILABILITY AND WAS WORKING TO THIS END. DE CUELLAR SAID THAT OPPORTUNITY HAD PASSED AND INDEED HAD ALREADY DONE SO BY TIME WALDHEIM FIRST SUGGESTED HIS WILLINGNESS CANCEL FAR EAST TRIP IN INTEREST OF EARLY RESUMPTION AFTER JANUARY DID NOT WORK OUT. BY THEN, IN HIS OPINION, TURKISH SIDE HAD EVOLVED AND DUG ITSELF IN ON STRATEGY OF DELAY UNTIL MID-FEBRUARY TO LIMIT WALDHEIM'S PARTICIPATION AND DURATION OF VIENNA ON PRETEXT OF DENKTASH'S ELECTORAL CAMPAIGN COMMITMENTS.

6. DISCUSSING CLERIDES' JANUARY 17 REVERSAL ON RESIGNATION, DE CUELLAR VENTURED OPINION THAT DECIDING FACTOR MIGHT HAVE BEEN CLERIDES' CONCERN FOR HIS REPUTATION IN HISTORY IF, DESPITE AND WEIGHED AGAINST HIS LEGITIMATE GRIEVANCES AGAINST MAKARIOS, HE ABANDONED HIS CONSCIENTIOUS EFFORT TO ADVANCE GREEK CYPRIOT INTERESTS THROUGH REALISTIC CONFIDENTIAL

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NEGOTIATION. I SAID I THOUGHT THIS WAS ABOUT RIGHT. ON BASIS OF INFORMATION FROM ALL SOURCES, SITUATION HAD BEEN VERY MUCH TOUCH AND GO UNTIL THE LAST MINUTE. IN MY READING, CLERIDES HAD ACTED WHEN HE DID IN AN EFFORT TO GET THE ARCHBISHOP OFF HIS BACK POLITICALLY AT A TIME -- BEFORE RESUMPTION -- WHEN HIS LEVERAGE WAS AT ITS GREATEST.

7. DE CUELLAR HAS AN ADDED PROBLEM NEXT WEEK: HE

MUST BEGIN TO NEGOTIATE WITH TFSC THE MODALITIES OF UNFICYP'S FUTURE OPERATION IN NORTH PURSUANT DECEMBER 13 PROCES-VERBAL. HE EXPECTS THAT TO MAKE THE POINT OF EQUALITY TFSC WILL PRESENT A STATUS OF FORCES ARGUMENT VIRTUALLY IDENTICAL TO 1964 UN UNDERSTANDING WITH GOC. WE AGREED THAT, IN TERMS OF UNFICYP DISPOSITION, TURKS (MAINLAND) WANT UNFICYP UNITS REMAINING IN NORTH (DANES, FINNS, AND SWEDES) WITHDRAWN TO BUFFER ZONE AND CONFRONTATION LINE.

8. COMMENT: DESPITE VIENNA III TURKISH UNDERTAKINGS TO WALDHEIM, I DO NOT HAVE THE FEELING THAT UN (AT THE POLITICAL, AS OPPOSED TO MILITARY LEVEL) WILL FIGHT VERY HARD TO RETAIN SIGNIFICANT PRESENCE INSIDE TURKISH AREA, ESPECIALLY SINCE GOC HAS IN ITS INNER COUNCILS VIRTUALLY WRITTEN OFF THE CHANCES OF PREVENTING THE TURKS FROM SLOWLY FORCING THE DEPARTURE OF THE APPROXIMATELY 8,000 GREEKS WHO HAVE HUNG ON IN THE NORTH SINCE THE WAR.
CRAWFORD

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